1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

567 When Semmasi heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
764 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

593 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
647 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

668 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

669 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
685 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
● 773 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[755] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

669 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
778 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the ma- 869
lignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a 775
ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of 859
teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A 822
case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' 777
voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast 838
are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through decep- 781
tion, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely dur- 854
ing early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loin- 864
cloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of ag- 846
gression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

berka, and Kafekberka had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of 721
the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through 726
ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of
the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the
Alorese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File
woman. Dikimpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder.
Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be ar-
ranged honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and
gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also
the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. How-
ever, some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were [571]
still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between
the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walk-
ing distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take di- 602
rect vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsi- 721
bility but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must 432
buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is
not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not
decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and
six buyers. The sellers (*nemm*) are the persons who were present at the
death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*hammemma*)
consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses
of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum ex-
penditure I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and
twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and 422
slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. 262
The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with 727
ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the
payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice
taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner
woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a
serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the con-
tainer again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contami- [778]
nating the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to
revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and
limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat
rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens, [845]
which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That 604

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

place, the wielder of the pole begins switching the bundle rapidly back and forth as he circles the dance place six times. He is surrounded by the buyers, who try to beat the head bundle as it flicks back and forth. At the end of the sixth round the buyers seize the pole and bundle, rush to the village edge, and toss the bundle off into the bush, where no further attention is paid to it. Now the dead kinsman has a "spouse" (i.e., the fellow victim) and will not return to make trouble for his living kin. The thrashing given the head bundle is supposed to kill the spirit of the spouse so that it too will no longer be a menace.

The final ceremonial gesture is the mock feeding of the buyers. They stand in a row on their dance place and a piece of rice cone is offered them. They pretend to take a bite, but actually the rice is rapidly passed over their shoulders to children standing behind each buyer, who run off and eat it secretly. This appeases the dead kinsman. The same procedure is repeated by the sellers on the village boundary. This appeases the spouse of the dead kin.

It is consistent with the picture drawn so far of food and finance that the malignancy even of souls cannot be fully appeased until gestures of this sort are made. The cost of such appeasement must act to curtail excessive head-hunting. The financial costliness of placating the dead is true also for the ordinary death feasts and for the spirit-bird ceremonies that replace the death feast series in cases of violent deaths. This latter type of ceremony parallels in form that just described for a human head. There are three or four species of small birds which, when killed and dried, may be sold as spouses for those dead from accident or from dysentery, leprosy, or smallpox. It is important in terms of local values that even though a man has caught a spirit bird he may not use it to appease his own dead kin, but must buy one from some other set of six captors.

An instance of nice adjustment occurred when the Dutch put an end to head-hunting. Spirit-bird ceremonies were substituted for head ceremonies where vengeance had not yet been secured, so that the soul of the murdered man could be appeased. The Alorese were caught by cultural changes between the fear of their dead kin and the living Dutch. Fortunately they had at hand a ceremonial device they could, and were willing to, substitute in order to avoid this dilemma. If this device had not been available it is possible that the natives would have feared their dead more than the Dutch garrison and that head-hunting would not have ended so quickly and easily. As it was, the solution was probably as much of a relief to the natives as it was to the government.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

4.26 (*hafik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. The
765 difficulty of calling in reserves is further illustrated by the uncertainty surrounding the date set for a feast. The case of the tumukun's payoff death feast will show just how harassing such a situation can be.

The tumukun must have been pondering the event of a death feast for some weeks, but the first indication I had of his plans for it was on March 23, when a group of women gathered to hull rice. The next day
[787] he divined to discover the proper date, and the result of this divination set April 4 as the day of the feast. When April 4 arrived it was obvious that no feast was under way. I asked what had happened and was told there had been a two-day delay in order to give guests time to arrive. On April 14 the tumukun again divined for a propitious date, and the day was set for April 26. That night and the next day he had satellites
[211 deliver thirty-nine invitations in the form of "memo tallies" to inform
202] his debtors that gongs and mokos were to begin arriving as early as April 22. These memo tallies are strips of coconut leaves in one end of which a flat knot is tied; the other end is slit as many times as there are days before the feast. The guest is supposed to tear off one tab a day.

[789] Meanwhile the tumukun had been making gong- and moko-bringing magic every evening and morning. Since all these activities were quite open, no one could have been ignorant of his plans. April 26 came and went, however, but no guests arrived. The tumukun was very much ashamed and, characteristically, very angry. He complained to me of the situation when I was indiscreet enough to inquire about the cause of the delay, and he blusteringly threatened to carry litigations against his debtors to the radjah himself. He began once more a round of visits to his debtors scattered through about ten villages to berate them for their recalcitrance. I asked a neutral person if people were angry with the tumukun and was told that they were not, that such delays were customary.

On July 13 the tumukun again began morning and evening to beat gongs and mokos in order to draw in his wealth. A few dowry payments arrived during the last days of July. On July 28 he went to fetch the soul of his father-in-law, in whose honor the death feast was to be.
[761] The father-in-law had been buried in the old Alurkowati village site twenty years before, and his soul had to be brought to the dance place in Atimelang, where his feast was to be given. The tumukun took this opportunity to berate his father-in-law's soul for its inactivity in spur-
[715] ring debtors to make payments. The souls of those who are to be hon-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

ored are supposed to precede the human creditors and "soften people's hearts." For the next few days the tumukun's kinsmen and debtors continued making payments and by August 4 the feast was finally given, four months after the original date set for it.

Even then not an adequate number of debtors appeared, so that on August 4 there was only the slaughtering of pigs and the division of food. On August 7 the actual gongs and mokos were distributed. The wealth array was one of the most elaborate I saw during my eighteen months, but I was assured that it was by no means the largest possible. There were fifteen mokos and eight broken gongs, representing about one hundred dollars, displayed on the dance place. This did not include pigs or rice. Practically the whole day was taken up with the distribution, although the actual passing out of payments did not begin until about four-thirty. At five-forty the first creditor, a satellite kin and village-mate of the tumukun, beat the moko he had received and left the dance place as a sign of satisfaction with the payment made. Some of the other creditors, however, were overtly and articulately dissatisfied with their payments, and some of the more implacable ones refused to accept them and leave until noon the next day. Meanwhile, in several instances, they had succeeded in forcing higher payments. Several times the tumukun and his guests were in acute rages over the negotiations. The tumukun finally managed to convince his guests that he had absolutely no currency of any sort left. Actually he had taken the precaution of hiding two mokos in a field house occupied by a kin so that his creditors would not discover them and insist on having them.

In attempting to visualize the general atmosphere of grasping hard dealing that runs riot on such occasions, one must picture a whole group of people who are present simply because they are creditors of the tumukun's creditors. They watch what is being distributed, and the minute one of their creditors is paid a gong or moko, they lay claim to it as payment for an outstanding debt. The result is that, in addition to the quarrels centering on the tumukun's debt liquidations, there is also a series of minor quarrels being waged on the side.

A condensed account of this sort can scarcely begin to indicate the anger, humiliations, and frustrations the tumukun had to endure for the prestige the feast brought him. It is not surprising that many men delay payoff feasts indefinitely and must often be forced into them. The most common pressure that forces a reluctant financier into a ceremonial payoff is illness, his own or that of some family member. Divination reveals that a dead kinsman is angry at delay or neglect and that

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

158 787 828 dead father was calling him. He came to a big stone and pretended to catch a rat under it. Then he broke off a piece of stick, held it near his crotch, and offered it to one of his guardians for his hungry children. The man who was the butt of this malice struck Fanseni's fingers only to have him say, "Eh, that's fine." Also, on the way down the slope Fanseni ate certain foods raw that are ordinarily cooked. A little later, without showing any signs of discomfort, he ate a raw tuber known to be extremely astringent.

158 787 828 762 Finally he reached his father's grave and there ordered the others to dig his own grave just about two yards away. This they did. He then gave them further orders, such as to fetch his shroud and eating plate and to give his bow to a cousin. All these errands he assigned one at a time in order to have people run back and forth as much as possible. Finally he adjusted his shroud and got into the grave. He got out again, however, complaining that a stone in it made him uncomfortable and asking to have it removed. He got in once more and then asked to have his food plate placed next to his body under the shroud. One of the guardians asked, "Are you finished?" Fanseni answered, "I am through, so cover me up." People began shoving in the earth and Fanseni spoke for the last time, saying, "Now I am glad. Just now it was bad. That must not be. Now it is good."

When the earth completely covered his body, Fanseni moved. In a panic the buriers fetched two large stones and hastily dropped them on him before they finished filling in the grave. The whole event naturally frightened the villagers badly. For several nights they stopped [775] up every nook and cranny of their houses to prevent Fanseni's spirit from entering and during the day frequently inspected his grave to make sure it was still undisturbed.

158 In the relative mildness of aggression and in the openly suicidal quality this case differs from three other cases of recognized insanity. It resembles the other cases in its obscenity. The suicidal quality in all [689] these four cases must be recognized, however, since an uncontrollably violent person is apt to be killed. One woman, Matingmale, was actually killed by one of the victims of her destructiveness; another was spared only because of the intercession of her kin. The fourth case, a [762] man, danced challenge in front of the government soldiers who came to avenge the murder of the radjah in 1918. Exposing one's body to bullets with only a carabao shield as protection can be interpreted only as suicidal in intent.

[787 828] All four of these instances were thought to be cases of spirit possession. If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in mokos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Melanesians the Atimelangers cannot be considered ghost-ridden. The interesting point is that these potentially malignant dead are always one's most immediate kin. People have two souls. At death one goes to a village below if the death has not been violent. If it has been, the soul goes above (*adiy bong*), and a spirit-bird ceremony must be given for it. The second soul is the one that loiters about the village boundary and against which precautions are taken at the time of burial.

It is at this time that the soul is particularly dangerous because the deceased wishes company. To placate it in this early and more potent phase of malignancy and to relegate it to the village boundary there are special feasts, the Hevelaberka held on the fourth day after death and the Hevelakang on the ninth day after death. During these nine days a few minor restrictions are observed by the family, including taboos on salt, bathing, and sexual intercourse. During that time there may be also one or two all-night gong-playing memorials (*sinewai*), including the feeding of the guests who attend. It is during these nine days that there occurs all the ostentatious use of pigs and the incurrence of debts, which must be repaid in subsequent years, or even generations, in a series of feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Tila (also called Ato in its final phase). The first two of these feasts are named, significantly enough, after two ways of preparing rice; the first refers to rice rolls, the second to small woven containers in which raw rice is boiled.

The third feast can really be broken down into a number of ceremonies. To the whole series I have given the name of the first ceremony, (*Tila*), which means *string* and refers to the purchase of either a sheep or a carabao for the final and supreme death feast after which the soul of the dead is banished from the village boundary and thus from interference in human affairs. The motivations for giving payoff feasts have already been discussed in the chapter on adults and institutions. The pressure of creditors, prestige, and, perhaps most often, illness of descendants lead to these final ceremonies. The dead become impatient and annoyed at the lack of postmortem prestige and manifest their displeasure by making trouble for the living.

As soon as an illness is diagnosed as the manifestation of a displeased soul, a small quantity of rice is offered it in a bamboo container raised on a pole. From here on, plans for a payoff feast should get under way; but frequently long delays occur, and it is hoped that meanwhile the small original offering will stave off the soul. In addition, the dead may withhold good crops if the smaller garden feasts are not made in the fields they have worked or if they are not named and fed at a series of new-corn rituals owned by various lineages. All this placation of the dead

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

775 765 involves saying their names as small quantities of food are set aside for them. Death feasts are given primarily for parents or grandparents. Such feasts, which may be precipitated by illness but nevertheless give prestige, may reproduce for the individual the positive and negative emotions that cluster around child training and are reinforced by the financial organization.

SACRIFICES

782 261 The motif of sacrifice or feeding occurs over and over again, not only in relation to the dead but in relation to all supernatural beings. Feeding is the chief cultural tool for symbolizing social euphoria and for placating supernatural beings. Since the experiences of individual children with respect to hunger and disciplinary relationships vary greatly, it is to be expected that in adults also attitudes toward sacrifice will vary in the "depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." * Mangma begins his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, is engrossed with accounts of his gardening prowess and with details of food taboos, and finally stresses sacrifices associated with the care of his sacred hearth. Tilapada begins the story of her childhood with tales of quarrels. She interprets subsequent anxiety [828] dreams as warnings that she has not placated the proper spirits, but she continues to neglect them. One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his tutelaries; another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered the supernaturals.

782 153 Individual childhood experiences in respect to hunger and discipline may find modes of expression in institutionalized fields, and certain institutions are reinforced because of the personal emotional content that can be directed into them. One must be careful not to use such nexi as sacrifice and childhood experiences as exclusive causal sequences. It would be ludicrously antihistorical to say that childhood feeding habits gave rise to a system of sacrifice in Atimelang. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that obedience was expected of children, that running away was a means of avoiding disciplinary harshness, and that children conformed against their wishes only when overwhelmed by a superior force. These are the essence of most Atimelangers' attitudes toward sacrifices and death feasts. As a rule they are offered only when the external pressure is such that it means preserving the health, prestige, or well-being of one's family.

I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long

* Quoted from Sapir, in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941).

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long as its symbolic content can be so high. Any institution that may be invested with high emotional value because of patterns of child training is not one which can be lightly legislated out of existence. The implications of such relationships bear not only on the problems of the diffusion of culture and the persistence of traits, but also on applied anthropology as it is envisaged by enlightened colonial administrators. Head-hunting could be stopped almost overnight (page 131) because child training had been toward deflecting hostility into wealth manipulations rather than physical violence. Physical violence broke out only when finance failed to ease strain in interpersonal relationships. There were in addition substitutive devices at hand. Trying to eliminate sacrifice would, however, be a very different matter, and, in fact, there has been singularly little headway made by missionaries in that direction. Furthermore, Christianity with its magnification of the parental image may have failed to make inroads because paths leading in that direction had not been worn deep in the personality of the Atimelang child.

THE HEREAFTER

These speculations upon the emotional content and significance of institutions were precipitated by a discussion of the feasts necessary for the final dismissal of ghosts from the village boundary. It is really at this point that significant interest in the dead stops. Perhaps this correlates with the Atimelanger's poor memory for genealogies. When the dead are no longer potential sources of danger and when they are no longer being named in connection with sacrifices, they are lost from memory. What happens to this second soul no one could tell me; whether it rejoins the other soul in the village of the dead, below or above, no one seemed to know. In addition, there is another place where the dead are supposed to go and to live underground. This is a low, uninhabitable coral island, called Hamintuku in the Abui language, which is off the northwest point of Benleleng Bay. It is quite obvious from all this uncertain and fragmentary material that the Atimelangers are not interested in structuralizing any of these vague and contradictory speculations. There may be a rare individual who is concerned with such matters, but, if so, I failed to discover him, and he would in any case be aberrant in that respect. Again, this reinforces the argument that the Atimelangers are not concerned with speculative constructs or the nonmanifest. Even the village of the dead seems to be no more than a reflection of earthly life. It is called Sahiek, or Sehiek, and is presided over by a figure named Karfehawa (literally, Kar-pig-jaw). The location of Sahiek and the identity of Karfehawa were completely nebulous to most informants. Rilpada came nearest to giving a coherent account.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

● 775 On one occasion he said, "People have two souls, a long one and a short one, both called *banoting*. When a seer sees a ghost he sees the eyes which have fallen out and travel alone. He may also see a soul which looks like a human being but which grows taller and taller. When it is very tall, it falls over and gets up short again. That is how it walks. Some seers see souls as very tiny spiders which float through the air. These are often called *boiboi*, but they are also *banoting*. When a man dies, his breath has already gone, but two eyes linger here around the village. Some old people went to Haminŋuku once and saw torn mats, broken pots, and drinking tubes like those broken on a person's grave, but we don't know anything about how the dead live in Haminŋuku. The souls of the violently dead go above, but we know nothing about that."

Three months later Rilpada, who was, relatively speaking, an authority, gave the following in answer to questions about Sahiek: "People who die go down a slope and come to a level place where there is a big ravine with a bridge across it. The feet of those who cross become slippery. Those who are young and swift get across and go off a long way to Haminŋuku. The people who fall go to Sahiek, which is Karfehawa's village. They say to Karfehawa, 'Grandfather, I lost my way. Give me just a little water to drink.' Then Karfehawa looks at them and if he likes what he sees, he invites them up on his large verandah and his wife cooks millet for them. She invites them to enter the house to eat. As they start up the ladder, she pours millet on them. Then the burial rope, shroud, and maggots all fall. The bones are picked up and covered with cloth. Karfehawa's wife, who is called Masingbal, takes a fire tube and hits her husband's legs. He jumps and there is an earthquake. When young people die, there is no earthquake; these occur only when grown and rich men die. Those that Karfehawa likes are given a field house and allowed to stay. If he does not like those who come, he spits in their mouths instead of inviting them up on the verandah. He orders them to follow the river down to the sea. There they [823] turn into salt and lime rock. When lime bites our tongue we say, 'This is our dead forebear turned to lime.'"

In view of the fact that this is the most elaborate account of life after death that I was able to get, its paucity and its inconsistencies are striking. The emphasis on the adult and the rich, as opposed to the young and to those Karfehawa does not like (presumably the poor), is [155] instructive. That lime, which burns the mouth, should be identified with forebears and that rejection is expressed by spitting saliva into the

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

mouth instead of giving food may just possibly be considered fantasies centering on infantile feeding experiences.

GOOD BEINGS

The motif of revivification by spilling food on a corpse is poorly developed in these speculations by Rilpada. It is, however, one of the most persistent myth motifs, especially in myths dealing with Good Beings (*nala kang;* literally, something good). They inhabit villages above in the sky or below in the sea. There seems to be no relation between their place of residence and the abodes of the dead. Around these beings are woven the most numerous and elaborate myths and they are an ever-present reality. The murder of the radjah in 1918 was precipitated by his followers' disrespectful treatment of a woman who had established herself in the minds of her fellow villagers as a Good Being.

In 1929 Malelaka had the Five Villages at a high pitch of excitement over his predictions of the imminent arrival of these supernaturals. In one day two small guesthouses were erected, an area was cleared and fenced, and in addition two stone basins were made into which would flow upon the arrival of the Good Beings two miraculous streams. In one the old could bathe and be rejuvenated; in the other, people would be healed of their illnesses. Death would disappear and death feasts were to be discontinued. Meanwhile people were to abstain from such foods as eels, crayfish, crabs, and fish. For some six recent prophets on whom there is material these ideas remain fairly constant. The interesting thing about the ideas are the fantasies they express—the desires to escape death, illness, and death feasts. The conflicts that this last prophecy created in Malelaka are reflected in his autobiography, which was given at the time when his Good Being speculations were once more active.

That such wishful thinking was not limited to Malelaka and his fellow prophets is evinced by the cooperation they received in preparing for these supernaturals. People from many surrounding villages were sufficiently credulous to bring their sick to the expected advent. There was in fact so much excited interest that the government sent up the full garrison of troops to destroy the structures and arrest Malelaka. This interference plus the disastrous war of 1918 led to the growth of a good deal of scepticism, and the tentative Good Being talk current in 1938 and 1939 was meeting with much incredulity. The inclination to abandon what has been a failure seems to me a consistent part of the nonfanatical and realistic temperament of Atimelangers. They are far

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

157 from lacking in stubborn persistence, but when an issue has been definitely defeated, they are ready to give it up.

776 Good Beings are thought of as human in every respect except for their miraculous powers, among which is their ability to revive the dead and to travel through air and water. Human beings who disappear are often suspected of having become supernaturals of this sort. About 1935 four young men were drowned when a boat capsized near the coast. Only three bodies were recovered. In 1938 it was believed in some circles that the one whose body had not been found was now a Good Being and was inspiring the prophecies of a five- or six-year-old girl (page 77ff.). This motif of people's disappearing rather than really dying, and then being transformed into Good Beings is quite common in the myths.

To give an idea of the type of Good Being tale three condensed myths follow.

Masingbal and Dry Land Woman

773 Masingbal went to the coast with his six brothers, who deserted him there. He went to sleep so hungry that he chewed the fringe of his shawl. As he slept his mother and father appeared to him and told him how to get food and how to avoid a village of cannibals on his journeys. When Masingbal awoke he followed his father's instructions and reached the village boundary of Farik, a Good Being. Farik's two daughters met him and reported to their father that the stranger resembled him. Farik, fully armed, went to meet Masingbal and was convinced of his good intentions. He invited the young man to sit on his verandah and ordered his daughters to prepare food. When it was ready Masingbal was asked to enter the house. As he climbed the ladder, the sisters poured a pot of millet on his head, and he fell back on the verandah, shedding his shroud, burial rope, and maggots. The sisters covered his body with a shawl and the older one sat near his buttocks, blowing on them with a fire tube. The younger sister sat at his head, fanning him with a fire fan. When Masingbal awoke, the two girls fed him, and Farik ordered Masingbal to sleep that night between the two women. Masingbal was obedient but did not have intercourse with them, saying, "You two are good. I am fortunate to have met you, but, my sisters, I shall not embrace you." The girls reported this to Farik, who then ordered Masingbal to have intercourse with them.

The three thereafter worked together in the fields. After a time the two wives discovered that Masingbal was not working, but instead stood crying all day at a hole which he had made when uprooting weeds

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

February 4, 1939

I was still small and could only walk a little. I was trying to climb [159x]
the ladder up into the house. I was standing on the second step when I fell and hit my head on the corn-pounding stone and got a large wound. It didn't heal but got bigger and bigger. [He had just been watching me dress scalp wounds on children.] Then father divined, and the divination revealed that the areca altar and a dead person would have to be placated. A dead person had grabbed me as I was trying to go up the [775]
ladder and that is why I fell. Father fed the dead person two chickens and fed the areca altar a chicken and a pig. Father put the rice and blood in my hand and held my hand to help me smear the altar myself. That night when I went to sleep, I defecated in my loincloth. [It is not customary for toddlers to wear loincloths. I asked about it and he changed the story, saying he was about twelve. I suspected this anecdote was a fantasy in which he assumed the role of the children he had just seen doctored. This was the sort of thing he did often in his dream accounts:] So they divined again. [When a person who has learned [753
toilet habits soils himself, it is considered a sign that he is ill and that 827]
his soul has left him.] This time they discovered they hadn't yet made the Bayorka feast for my paternal grandmother. Father then gave one of her death feasts, but he died before he made her Bayorka feast. I got well.

[He asked if I wanted the story of how he lost his eye.] People were working in Likuwatang making the new trail. We were moving stones when a soldier came and hit me across the neck with a thorny branch. Mauglani, Padamani, Djetlang, and I ran away, following the Limbur ravine. On the way we looked for kanari nuts. At Kelawat-Lanmakani were two sacred pools and a large stone under which it was dry. We [252]
leveled the sand under the stone, made a fire, and roasted cassava to eat [225]
with the nuts. Then we tied bamboo twigs into a torch and with them hunted eels. I shot a large one and we came back, cooked it, and ate it with five or six ears of corn we had. I was just going to sleep that night when I heard a loud noise of bells. My soul vanished. I saw an old man coming down. He said, "Who told you to sleep here?" I said, "Grandfather, we were working on the new trail and the soldiers hit me, so we ran away and came here to sleep on the edge of your house-site." I saw him take out his lime but I didn't see him sprinkle it on my eye. When we woke we found that water was pouring down into our sleeping place, so we moved farther up the bank and sat there until dawn. I said to the three men, "My three friends, last night I dreamed

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

[Long pause. Again he said that he had forgotten much. I suggested that he listen to the thoughts that traveled through his head.] 159x

When I was still small my hair was reddish. Falanata was staying with us. When we fought she called me redhead. I answered by calling her Faleata. [Play on the name of Falanata; *faleata* is the name of a wild plant used as food.] She called me Fankai [a dog's name, a play on his name, Fantan]. We fought; she was bigger than I and clamped her hand over my mouth and hit me. [Pause.] [262]

One time when I was about twelve years old, my father took me to Kelaisi. We went because Atakalieta had come to ask for a pig. When we delivered the pig, he killed a chicken for us and we ate it, but the two legs we saved for a very old woman, grandmother of my mother, called Koleti. We took them to her in Kaminwati. She cooked rice and fed us. She gave us a bunch of bananas and a full basket of areca nuts. We went back to Kelaisi and slept there overnight, and the next day we came home here to Atimelang.

When I was that old I could not go to Makangfokung because if I went there I would die. [He paused to make me ask why.] My father and uncle had begotten many boys there, but they all died. Only the girls lived. Kaloi, the spirit of our lineage house, had killed them; it said that all the male children belonged to it. My two brothers had already died, so my mother and father thought I would die too. Father went to Kelaisi to buy a medicine. He paid a piece of cloth and a moko for it. When he brought it home he killed a pig, a big one, to feed the medicine. After that father could go to Makangfokung, and when I was older I could too. Father went to Makangfokung, put the medicine on a stone, and threw the stone in the house. Then a snake rose halfway from the ground. My father placed some of the medicine on a little stone and held it in front of the snake, and the snake died. Father didn't hit it; it just died. After he had this medicine father could kill the evil spirits that lived in trees and other places. He could burn off spirit abodes, and everything would dry up there. The trees would die and dry up, and with them all the taboo strings. [Fantan had had several "taboo strings" extracted from under his sternum that year.] Manifula is a spirit abode. I placed the medicine there and burned it over. I went up and there were many dead snakes. [How long since you have cut this garden at Manifula? He spoke as though it were in the present.] I haven't cut that place in about six years. It was while father was still alive. He died less than a year after I cut the Manifula garden. 159x 751 [761] 775 [776] 159x

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

perts to divine for him. The results of these divinations had directed his attention to three possible sources of danger. One was the spirit of his father's lineage house in Makangfokung, which was putatively responsible for the death of male children in Fantan's line. A second was the evil spirit of a knoll called Manifula, where Fantan as a child had found a crab, which he carried home and which was identified, *post hoc*, as a manifestation of the local supernatural being. The third source of danger was his place of residence. After these diagnoses Fantan went to purchase various "countermedicines." Of these he managed to secure only one. Although he declared his intention to continue his search for the proper remedies, he showed no persistence and in time the matter was dropped.

On this particular day Fantan arrived declaring he was very frightened. He reported that on the night before bats had come wheeling and squealing into his house and had frightened him and his wife. In addition, his wife, who had stepped out of the house, came running back, saying she had seen a dark figure that had tried to seize her. The two were apparently terrified, and Fantan burned some of his newly acquired medicine and then left to spend the rest of the night in another house. Fantan was obviously disturbed by the whole episode. He was sure that he was the victim of malignant spirits, and he was making the most of the matter to me.

The subsequent development along these lines occurred a week later and led to further events in connection with the disposal of his Makassar moko.

His Father's Grave

April 20, 1939

On the preceding day a grave at Karieta had caved in. The kin were worried and called Rilpada the Seer for advice. Rilpada's familiars said that the soul of the dead man was dragging into the grave the souls of several living kin. The seer recaptured them and returned them to their owners. Fantan heard of this and was worried. He went to examine his father's grave and saw that it too had settled. He sent his wife and sister to fetch Rilpada to investigate the matter. His wife and sister, however, decided that they preferred the services of Padatimang and summoned him instead. Padatimang's familiars revealed that Fantan's soul had indeed been dragged into his father's grave. The seer then recovered it and returned it to him. However, he told Fantan secretly that he had also discovered in the grave the soul of Malikalieta, the rich kinsman with whom Fantan had been having so much difficulty about the

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Sahiek [the village of the dead]; that is why they did not offer me food.] If I had eaten there, I probably would have died. [Meaning of the descent into the house?] When I get wounds I'll be dizzy and unconscious; my soul will want to get up to heaven from Sahiek, but people will call me back and I shan't die. [No ladder?] This house is probably one of those in which people who died a violent death stay. They have probably had their heads or their spirit birds paid for; so they are shutting themselves in and are not wandering any more. [That is, special ceremonies have been given to placate their souls, and they are no longer malignant ghosts.]

[At this point I tried to get away from the conventional dream interpretation by using word associations. The informant did not seem to grasp the idea and insisted on long repetitions of the dream. The associations were as follows: *ladder*—top of waterfall, the place where a slain person is taken to be decapitated before head feasts are given; *mango tree*—person who has met violent death, or death from a particularly dreaded disease like smallpox; *empty house*—same as ladder; *closed door*—the dead man's door; *areca nut*—a wound; *betel*—a wound; *rat*—came down from the sky, referring to the fact that shooting stars are thought to turn into mice when they strike the earth.]

I dreamed again. I and Kolang cut bark for loincloths. We pounded it but could not make it soft, so we threw it away. I went for more. I saw Fuimai cutting down another tree for bark cloth. When I asked her for some, she said there was not much; there was only that one tree. But in her hands she had many pieces. Fuimai took the bark off the tree and put it in her basket. I woke up.

[Meaning?] Had I not thrown the bark away, the dream would mean that I would commit adultery. Fuimai did not throw away the bark; so that means she will commit adultery. [Fuimai was suspected in the village of sleeping with her young unmarried brother-in-law. Her husband was rarely at home.]

When I was small, my father cleared a big garden. Father carried me between his body and the arrows thrust into his belt. He took me thus to the garden feast. That evening when we came back he carried me in the same way. I cried when father left, but he said, "You stay here in the village; it is wartime." However, I continued to cry, so he carried me in this way. Mother too told me to stay home, but I just cried. That evening when we returned to the house, we ate the meat and rice baskets of the feast. The next day we all went to plant Mailang's rice field. I cried again and followed mother and father, so my